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ABSTRACT

The relationship between international knowledge exchange and the international exchange of persons, particularly through and to higher education systems, is examined. Higher education policy is discussed as one case of international knowledge exchange. Attention is directed to the following policy areas: immigration policy (particularly the McCarran-Walter Act), national security policy as it affects the exchange of persons, and the budgetary support of international exchanges and competing claims for the support of the international exchange of knowledge. Three examples of the international knowledge system in the area of higher education policy are discussed: the exchange of views among professorial organizations in North America and Europe; the nature of the process of response to conservative governments' approaches to retrenchment in the United States, Great Britain, and Europe; and the impact of American models of graduate and undergraduate education on a distance learning masters degree program operated cooperatively between the State University of New York at Buffalo and Alvan Okkoku College in Owerri, Nigeria. Implications of new modes of communication and computer technology on the international exchange of knowledge are also briefly addressed. (SW)

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MOVERS AND DOERS

International Exchange, the International Knowledge System, and Public Policy

Much has been written about the relationship between the exchange of persons, particularly through and to systems of higher education, and the contribution of such exchanges to commerce, peace, and national development. In this paper I shall offer a different, though not inconsistent, perspective on the international exchange of persons by placing it within a paradigm of international knowledge exchange. Next I will look at one case of international knowledge exchange about which I have come to know first hand: higher education policy. Finally, I shall ask a series of policy questions which are relevant to the exchange of persons and which may be answered more persuasively when such exchanges are viewed in the broader perspective of the international exchange of knowledge and national policies affecting the whole system. The

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three policy arenas I intend to explore are immigration policy, broadly construed; national security policy as it affects the exhange of knowledge through publication and by the travel of persons; and finally, th. budgetary support of international exchanges and competing claims for the support of the international exchange of knoweldge.

I. A Paradigm of the International Exchage of Knowledge

The complex system of international knowledge exchange defies desecription by a simple metaphor. That the system is a network must be assumed in that at any point and any moment there are many messages being transmitted between many points. This network may best be thought of as a web of contacts, some of which linger and some of which are momentary.

Another metaphor is that of center and periphery as popularized by Professor Johann Galtung in Stockholm.(1) In regard to the flow of exhanges there is little doubt that the system is dominated by transmitters in the post-industrial West, which constitute the center, and received by outposts in the other worlds, which constitute the periphery. But the metaphor must be even more complex because those who receive in the Third World, for example, actually constitute centers in their own countries.(2)

Finally, we have to understand that the exchange of knowledge goes on at many levels and through many media. The levels can be the most sophisticated--such as the information and knowledge flow in scholarly journals and exchanges of persons--or the most mundane--e.g."Dallas" as shown on tv channels around the world. The media vary as in the previous examples--print, persons, broadcast media. Most of these levels and media have been operational in the international exchange of knowledge for at least the last decade; but technological revolutions as well as a changing international marketplace are enlarging the scale and to some degree eroding the differentiation in the media. In the near and long-term future, the very nature of the network and its central and peripheral characteristics may well be transformed.

The implications of these changes for the nature and extent of the exchange of persons are not clear, but a few possible implications deserve mention at the outset: first implication is that we cannot understand the exchange of persons without greater understanding of the whole system of international exchange of knowledge, the ways in which media and levels interact. The technological explosion of communication which allows citizens in even remote parts of the world to hear and see events elsewhere and to be influenced by cultural artifacts of one country(particularly the US) on a daily basis increases the motivation for exchange of persons but at the same time affects its probable function. Long before an individual actually travels to another country, he or she

will have been exposed to more information about it and probably have developed more settled expectations concerning it than the traveler of earlier decades.

Another implication of the telecommunications revolution is greater sensitivity on the part of some countries, once again particularly the USA, to issues of secrecy in the transfer of information, because of the ease of its distribution. I might add that the revolution makes the imposition of secrecy policies almost impossible but even more attractive to governments. The diminishing difference between print and telecommunication makes this problem even more serious, a point to which I shall return later.

Finally, some of the functions of brief visits--e.g., international meetings or meetings of the International Studies Association--will become less cost-effective. The same exchange of views can easily and less expensively be arranged through teleconferencing. And more regular and extensive exchanges can be arranged through computer communications such as scholarly bulletin boards and exchanges of data bases. But this particular technological revolution may make even more important the exchange of persons for longer periods, because of the critical need for citizens of different nations to come to understand those cultural and social contexts of knowledge which neither the television nor the computer can communicate.

So, as we turn to look more carefully at issues posed by the international exchange of persons, we must keep in mind the changing nature of the international system of knowledge exchange. In order to illustrate the interaction between exchange of persons and the larger knowledge exchange system, at least one case may be helpful.

II. The Case of Higher Education Policy

In order to explore the nature of the international knowledge system in the area of higher education policy, I want to survey three examples: the exchange of views among professorial organizations in North America and Europe; the nature of the process of response to conservative governments' approaches to retrenchment in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada; and finally the impact of American models of graduate and undergraduate education in Nigeria in the particular case of a distance learning masters degree program between the State University of New York at Buffalo and Alvan Okkoku College in Owerri, Nigeria. All of these case reports are based on participant observation on my part and informed observation through the international press, but not full-fledged case studies. So the lessons will be suggestive, not definitive. But taken together the reports will allow us to frame some hypotheses about the international knowledge system as it

applies to higher education policy and to provide some background to the policy discussion which will follow.

A. Informal Communication between Professorial Organizations across National Boundaries

Over the decades there has been a pattern of communication among the organized professoriate in Canada, Great Britain and the United States. At certain times in the post-war period, other countries have also joined irregular but continuing contacts through a formal organization known as the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers which has operated out of Paris. But in the late 1960s, the American organization pulled out and ever since this formal organization has been viewed as irrelevant by the organized professoriate in many Western post-industrial countries.

In 1982, in response to domestic political problems in Canada which threatened the political economy of Canadian higher education, the Canadian Association of University Teachers organized a meeting to which it invited representatives from the United States, Great Britain, France,and Australia. The topic was retrenchment and the political challenge of governmental changes in a number of countries. The Canadians used the occasion for domestic political purposes. The reports of responses to challenges in the U.S. and Britain were politically relevant in

Canada.(3) The support of the then new French government for higher education was also reported and considered to be a lesson to be used in the Canadian political discussions. Each of the other national representatives of the professoriate found references in peer political experiences which they viewed as helpful to domestic debates.

This meeting was an important opportunity for the exchange of politically relevant knowledge and the development of personal relationships which could be called upon later in other settings. The international higher education press--specifically The Times Higher Education Supplement--had already provided a forum for the exchange of information, but the opportunity for face-to-face exchanges was critical to the construction of a continuing communications network.

Because of the perceived success of the Toronto meeting, a second meeting was held in London in 1983. That meeting was more private, but it allowed the dialogue to continue. A further meeting will be held in the United States either this year or next.

I can identify a number of outcomes from these meetings. The international university press through The Times Higher Education Supplement was encouraged by the New Zealand Association of University Teachers to have a regular column reporting the activities of the North American and Commonwealth associations,

which allowed more regular exchange of views. The national associations more regularly consulted their fraternal groups on domestic issues and sometimes even directly involved representatives from other countries. For example, I, as the General Secretary of the American Association of University Professors wrote regular appeals to Parliament at the request of the British and participated by video-tape in a meeting in Vancouver organized by the CAUT to protest actions of the British Columbia provincial government. So the combination of communications technology and the network created and reinforced by the meetings has created an operating international knowledge system which has become a meaningful channel affecting higher education policy in a number of post-industrial countries.

B. Dealing with Conservative Governments' Higher Education Policies in the United States, Britain and Canada

The occasion for the establishment of more regular communication between and among the professorial organizations in at least three countries--the U.S., Britain and Canada--was government threats of or actual implementation of retrenchment in higher education. The first occasion for national cutbacks was provided in Great Britain, where the Thatcher Government cut universities substantially. Responding to the cutbacks, the British Association of University Teachers had to assume a much more

politically active role than it had played in the past and looked to the example of the American professoriate.

In responding to threats to tenure which flowed from the government imposed retrenchment, a number of different actors in the political process looked across the Atlantic for guidance. At the same time the British Association of University Teachers was involving the American Association of University Professors in its political response to Thatcher, the association of Vice Chancellors was using AAUP policy documents to develop its position in regard to tenure in hard times. In Great Britain. academic tenure was absolute and could be breached only for derelection of duty. In the United States under the AAUP's Recommended Institutional Regulations(4), which guide good practice in this country,retrenchment could occur in periods of bona fide fiscal ugency. The American approach was being advocated by the Vice Chancellors and fought by the A.U.T. The A.U.T. even as recently as the past month sought information from the AAUP about examples of how tenure has protected academic freedom in the U.S., since they could find no examples of threat to academic freedom in the U.K. Many other changes in the British tenure system were being urged by the Government and by the Vice Chancellors to make British tenure similar to the American system.

While the British were looking to us for guidance concerning political action and tenure, we looked to the British to understand

now their encouragement of early retirement as an approach to retrenchment was working. We also followed with great interest--and great skepticism--their "new blood" appointments without expectation of tenure as a response to the graying of the dons. We also looked at the governance issues posed by the political decisions on individual campuses and the seeming impotence of the University Grants Committee as it dealt with the Conservative Government. Great Britain provided us with an interesting opportunity for comparative policy analysis in regard to issues of political importance in the United States. The international knowledge system -- through exchange of persons, the international press, and continuing informal communication through the mails -- provided knowledge which was clearly policy relevant to the American system of higher education.

The response of the Canadian Association of University Teachers to attempts to change the structure of federal support for higher education in Canada was also informed by the American approach to similar problems. Although the political economies differed--in Canada federal aid from the government was given to the Provincial universities as institutional support, while in the US most federal aid was in direct financial aid to students or support of faculty research--the model of the American experience was viewed as relevant by the Canadian policy actors.

Because of the common commitment to academic freedom as a

justification for tenure, American experience and standards were invoked in provinical debates in British Columbia and Quebec over the nature of tenure in universities. In both provinces, changes in provincial civil service law were to be applied to universities. The American standards were viewed as helpful in arguing for differential treatment of faculty. In the British Columbia case, the exchange of persons played a role in that the Education Minister was an M.D. who had received his undergraduate educaton at Princeton and who was known to respect American practices. A number of American faculty as well as the AAUP itself wrote directly to the minister on behalf of the maintenance of tenure in British Columbia universities.

In the two previous examples, we see post-industrial political systems interacting through the international knowledge network in a manner which to some degree affected outcomes. Each system learned something from the other. There was a fair degree of equality of exchange and usefulness. The center/periphery analysis does not contribute much to our understanding of the nature of the exchanges. In the last example of this analysis we shall see a classic example of the internatiional knowledge system operating to take the experience and standards of a post-industrial country to the problems of a Third World country, but with important elements of adaptation which required exchange of persons to allow some of the power disparaties to be moderated, if not overcome.

C. A Third World Example

In the mid-1970s SUNY/Buffalo and Alvan Okkoku College in Nigeria established a UNESCO sponsored project to upgrade the faculty of the College through a distance-learning Masters Degree program offered by the Faculty of Educational Studies at SUNY/Buffalo. Faculty from Buffalo would visit Owerri for relatively short periods during American vacations with at least one American staying at the College for a full semester. Students were expected to complete assignments and send them to the US during the term and to attend courses in Nigeria full time when Americans were there to teach. In addition to the correspondence component and on-site teaching, books and journals were sent to Nigeria and audio-tapes exchanged. All evaluations of the program by the Nigerians, the Americans, and UNESCO were positive.

Another element of the program was a plan for the University of Nsukka to take over the program and the awarding of degrees. This element never worked as well as planned for a range of reasons. The program was viewed as secondary by the faculty at NSukka--some of them never showed up for their assigned teaching. And secondly, the students at Alvan Okkoku were quite dissatisfied with Nsukka teaching because the American approach to teaching was far more student centered and, to use the language of two of my own students, "spoiled the students" who then expected different behaviour from Nsukka faculty. The politics of this comparison

posed dangerous challenges and the short-term exchange of persons contributed to the problem. At this writing Nsukka has taken over the program and awards the degrees.

The policy impact of the SUNY/Buffalo-Alvan Okkoku program is hard to evaluate. A number of other campuses across Nigeria wished to replicate the program and indeed to involve SUNY/Buffalo directly, but the oil glut with its decline in hard currency for Nigeria diminished the funds available to UNESCO to support the activity. There is no doubt that the model has become one which informs future planning about how post-industrial countries should work with local institutions in Nigeria. The problem of the attractiveness of the approach of American faculty to teaching in contrast to indigenous Nigerian faculty has not been addressed. It is an interesting twist to the dominance of the center over the periphery. My own view is that the way the Americans teach is probably better than that of some of the Nigerians who had to travel away from their home campus and for whom the trip was a disincentive instead of an adventure, so, in this rare case, vive la dominance. But the political tensions created by this impact could be quite damaging and therefore must be contained.

D. The Lessons of the Higher Education Cases

In all of these examples, the international knowledge system through all of its components has had some impact on higher

education policy and practice. But it is essential to understand that to date only Model I technologies have been used. If we had computer and television based networks of communication in place internationally, the impact in all cases would have been even greater, more regular, and more immediate. Personal contact has been an essential motivating force in each of the policy examples, but other forms of communication have also contributed to the maintenance of relationships. In the future, the exchange of persons is likely to prompt the further implementation of the technologies to encourage this greater communication. But the essential role of exchange of persons is unlikely itself to diminish.

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III. Policy Problems--American Examples

The higher education policy case suggests that exchange of persons and the other media of exchange of knowledge are closely interrelated and will continue to be important to the operation of the international knowledge system. This conclusion counsels that we must be quite sensitive to the policy problems posed by rules and regulations governing both exchange of persons and the use of systems of electronic and written communication. In that spirit I wish to examine three general arenas where policy problems are

arising and flag the policy issues and their impact on the international knowledge system.

A. Immigration Policy--Particularly the McCarran-Walter Act

Critical to the operation of the international knowledge system is the free exchange of persons. We in the United States have often raised questions about overly restrictive practices in a number of countries. But we ourselves have at least one statute as part of our immigration policy which has acted as a barrier to the exchange of persons: Section 212(a)(28) of the Immigration and Nationality Act--the "ideological exclusion" provision of the McCarran-Walter Amendment. This section excludes from entering the US all aliens who are members of Communist or anarchist organizations as well as those who "write, publish...circulate, display or distribute...any written or printed matter advocating or teaching opposition to all organized government..." or "advocating and teaching the conomic, international and government doctrines of world communism."(See"The Case for Repeal, Testimony Submitted to the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy"by The Fund for Free Expression, et.al., September, 1980.) Regrettably this provision has passed constitutional tests in the Supreme Court, and we have a situation where the Consular Officers and the Attorney General of the United States regularly exclude visitors on ideological grounds.

The current policy of the federal government is that existing visa law can and should be used to limit the loss of information in areas of science and technology regulated by the Atomic Energy Act, the Arms Control Act, the Export Administration Act, or by Executive Orders. Undersecretary of State William Schneider has held that existng visa law can and should be used to control potential as well as actual technological loss. The government can deny a visa, offer a conditional visa, or give an unconditional visa.

In recent months, according to a report of the National Research Council(5), the government has used all of these powers. For example, invited attendance by foreign scholars at scholarly conferences in the United States often provides the occasion for exclusion under one or more sources of authority. One example is the exclusion of Cubans from regional meetings of the American Philosophical Society and Eastern Europeans excluded from opportunities to visit particular universities. A recent scholarly conference at UCLA, sponsored by both the University and the Department of Defense, was limited to "American Citizens only." The impact of all of these regulations can be seen in the report of OMEX, the federal authority which reviews cases referred by the State Department. Most of these cases involve nationals from Communist countries and only those which are formally presented through appeal or selection for review. Tables 2 and 3 in the Appendix are informative but only a small part of the probable

problem.

Recently the Fund for Free Expression has resurrected a coalition to try to repeal Section 212(a)(28). This political effort is directly relevant to maintaining the free exchange of persons. The Corson Report of the Natoinal Committee on Science and Responsibility, Scientific Communication and National Security(1982) urged restraint in limiting exchange of persons. Equally relevant has been the general debate over immigration policy in the last Congress in its consideration of the Mazzoli-Simpson Bill, which is currently on hold. Few of the issues of greatest importance in regard to the short-term exchange of persons were addressed in the Mazzoli-Simpson bill, so there is a need for the review of current policies governing the movement of persons in and out of the United States as well as an effort to repeal McCarran- Walter. The effectiveness of the international knowledge exchange system is dependent upon the openness of exchange of persons as well as the openness of the telecommunication and exchange of the printed word.

B. National Security Controls on the Exchange of Ideas and Protection of Competitive Advantage Through Barriers to Publication and Communication

In recent years there have been a number of attempts by the Reagan Administration to impose new limitations on the free

exchange of knowledge both inside the country and especially between the US and other countries. All of these efforts have been in the name of either national security or protecting competitive advantage. The Corson Report position expressed in 1982 and reaffirmed in the recent report to the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Science, Engineering and Public Policy, advocated a policy of "security by accomplishment"-- in other words, by promoting scientific productivity-- instead of "security by secrecy"--a strategy of control and limitation. However, the record since the Corson Report is not encouraging.(6)

In addition to the activities of the Department of State in denying visas to foreign academics, other departments have established limitations on foreign visitors. The Department of Energy proposed a regulation to require holders of unclassified information about nuclear energy to apply the same restrictions to that information applied to restricted materials.

Two Presidential directives are especially ominous. Executive Order 12356 (April, 1982) broadened the power of the Executive Branch to classify information as vital to the national security and therefore not available for publication. It enables the Executive Branch to halt the presentation, publication or even scholarly exchange of papers not classified and not drawn from any classified source. It allows the review of papers before presentation. The second directive, the Presidential Directive on

Safeguarding National Security Information(March, 1983) requires that all persons who have access to classified information sign a prepublication review agreement to "assure deletion of...classified information." Under this directive the government may require anyone with current or past access to high-level classified information to submit any writing intended for publication to the sponsoring government agency for review.

At this writing, in response to an amendment to an appropriation bill sponsored by Senator Mathias of Maryland, the President has decided to suspend his Directive on Safeguarding National Security Information, but the problem of government intrusion remains. The other statuatory authority outlined earlier, such as export license control by the Department of Commerce, gives the government controls over exchange of information which have in the past been nonexistent except in times of war. The threat to the free international exchange of knowledge is real and is being exercised. Last spring the international orgnization of optical engineers had a meeting disrupted by the Pentagon claiming the right to review all papers being presented which were in any way financed by the Department. This latter example illustrates another control mechanism--the use of contractual language in federally sponsored research. This erection of prepublication barriers with its exercise of prior restraint threatens the very heart of the exchange of knowledge in written form. It also undoubtedly will be applied to the transmission of

information through media of telecommunication.

The principled objection to this form of impediment to the free flow of knowledge was put eloquently by Committee A of the American Association of University Professors which argued:"We must continue to contend with a formidable adversary, but why should the same principles that have governed free enquiry by academic researchers not be found serviceable in these anxious times? We make a fatal bargain if we allow the freedoms that have so long been exercised in this country to the benefit of all to become diminished, whatever the concerns which are now motivating some government officials...Our penchant for executive secrecy is not in our own or in the world's best interest."(7) I would add that the very system of knowledge exchange which informs the world serves us better than most just because of our history of freedom of speech and opportunity to hear. This policy issue will continue to be central to the maintenance of the international exchange of knowledge and will require careful monitoring if the total knowledge network is to be maintained with integrity. Whereas McCarran-Walter challenges the medium of the exchange of persons, these national security directives and export controls challenge the media of print and telecommunications as well as exchange of persons as part of the international knowledge exchange system.

C. Financing the International Exchange of Knowledge--Persons and

Ideas

Budgets are among the most important indicators of the value systems of societies. The trends of national support for the exchange of persons and the communications systems for the exchange of ideas are mixed. In this brief essay, I shall not attempt to survey various national budgets over time in terms of their investment in the international exchange of knowledge. I shall only flag this as an issue and offer some observations on American trends.

In the last four years, a number of attempts have been made to reduce support for the Fulbright Program, which constitutes the major source of funding for medium-term international exchanges. This year the Administration proposes an increase from $89.138 to $108.381 million. The budget of the United States Information Agency also has increased in the last few years, but the resources invested in international programs by NIH and NSF have diminished in real terms. The Administration has tried to zero funding of international programs in the Department of Education. The support of research from government sources or from private foundations concerning the international exchange of knowledge has almost disappeared(8). Although these trends are mixed, and they do not reflect trends in private support, they certainly suggest that support for the international exchange of knowledge through either the exchange of persons or the exchange of ideas has not ranked

nigh on the national agenda.

There are now some initiatives to try to increase Federal support of international activities. For example, Congressman Paul Simon has sponsored legislation recently passed by the House which would increase support for international study and exchange and is presently suggesting changes in the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act which would increase Federal funding. But proposing legislation is very different from getting it passed and funded.

The importance of public investment in international knowledge exchange suggests the role of scholars in documenting the needs for further support and the probabilities of real return on the investment. If the international knowledge system is to take advantage of the technological revolutions and reinforce traditional activities which contribute to peace and prosperity, we will have to devote more energy to intervening in the political process as it makes programmatic and budget decisions.

CONCLUSION

As we view the exchange of persons in the context of the international knowledge system, we are looking at a medium of knowledge exchange between countries which has been facilitated by technology to the degree that there is greater ease of transportation between countries. But the most significant impact

of technology is yet to come in the effect of new communications technologies on the very need for actual, physical exchange of persons in order to exchange knowledge. The nature of continuing exchange which will flow from occasions of personal contact will be ennanced by computer and telecommunications technology to allow cheaper and therefore more regular ongoing communication. The melding of media which we are seeing between print and electronic communications will also have an effect on the choice of media including personal visits and exchanges.

Ithiel de Sola Pool provides a penetrating analysis of this phenomenon in his new Technologies of Freedom(9). Professor de Sola Pool charts the history of the relationship between print and electronic media and the changing regulatory patterns as they have affected freedom of communications. He emphasizes in the American context the strength of the First Amendment in regard to print and its weaknesses in the regulating of electronic media. The melding of print and electronic media has put at risk protection for freedom of expression.

I have outlined some of the limitations on freedom of exchange of persons and freedom of exchange of knowledge through publication between the United States and other countries. These threats will increase as new modes of communication and computer technology and the transformation of the knowledge marketplace increase access to and use of electronic and computer media for the

exchange of knowledge. The regulation of electronic communication across borders constitutes a special problem at the same time that these technologies offer significant new opportunities for the continuing exchange of data and views.

The transformation of the international marketplace which both follows from and causes the communications revolution also at one and the same time increases the demand for freedom of knowledge exchange and national barriers to leaks of special knowledge. The international market which has elevated Taiwan and Korea, Mexico and Argentina into major actors in producing high tech products as well as basic commodities has made the monopoly of knowledge more valuable at the same time that it has made the acquisition of knowledge about other countries and the world order ever more essential.

The exchange of persons and the unique forms of understanding which presently can only be achieved by interaction between real people offers the best hope of creating a climate of understanding where the new technologies can actually enhance intercourse between cultures and competitors. Media may meld, but people will still be different and need to understand that which bonds and that which distinguishes. We cannot expect the exchange of persons to operate tomorrow in a manner consistent with the past, but in the context of the system of international exchange of knowledge, the new technologies will still depend on old contacts. The policy

problems we face which are essentially those of maintaining freedom of exchange can be dealt with only through understanding: knowing the complexity of the larger system and appreciating the simplicity of human interaction. Doing requires moving: the exchange of knowledge requires both.

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*All of the statements made in this paper represent only the views of the author and are not the official views of the AAUP.

NOTES

1 For a recent example of Johan Galtung's analysis see "Educational Disparities, World Politics and the New International Economic Order," in Inequalities in Educational Development, UNESCO, 1982.

2 Philip Altbach, "The University as Center and Periphery," in Universities and the International Distribution of Knowledge, Irving Spitzberg, editor (New York: Praeger, 1980), pp. 42-62.

3 Irving Spitzberg, Comparative Policy Research: 'Guiding the Organized Professoriate in Post-Industrial Countries Through Relevant Scholarship and Continuing Conversation, unpublished paper, Washington, D.C., 1982.

Hard Times in American Higher Education: "In Medias Res", unpublished paper, delivered to the International Conference on Crises sponsored by the Canadian Association of University Teachers, Toronto, 1982.

Thinking Comparatively: Learning Policy Lessons From Other Countries, unpublished paper, delivered to the International Conference on Crises in Universities, sponsored by the Canadian Association of University Teachers, Toronto, 1982.

4 Washington, 1977.

5 "Memo to Committee on Science, Engineering and Public Policy: Update of the Corson Report," from Mitchel B. Wallerstein, Office of International Affairs, and Lawrence E. McCray, Commission on Physical Sciences, National Research Council, January 26, 1984.

6 Ibid.

7 "Government Censorship and Academic Freedom," Report of Committee A, Academe, (Washington, D.C.: AAUP, 1983), page 17a.

8 Report by Becky H. Timmons, American Council on Education, Division of Governmental Relations, February 1984.

9 Ithiel de Sola Pool, Technologies of Freedom, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1983).